

MARXISM AND POLITICAL

9

THOUGHT

WILL HERBERG

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MARXISM AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

1. State and society.

- I. Society as emergent from the economic life-process of mankind.
 - A. The biological foundations of society.
 - B. The specific and autonomous character of society. - Society as a human aggregate. - Biological and social evolution.
 - C. The economic and social organization of society.
- II. The state as a social institution.
 - A. The distinction between society and state.
 - B. The state as the sole repository of sovereignty.
 - C. The institutional forms of the state.
- III. The socio-historical problems of the state.
 - A. The origin of the state as a social institution.
 - B. The role and function of the state in social development.
 1. The relation of the state to economic life.
 - C. The structural form of the state in relation to social development.
 - D. The future of the state as a social institution.
 - E. The ethical problem of the state. - Whence the ethical validity of its claims to sovereignty?
- IV. The state and political philosophy.
 - A. The nature of "politics".
 - B. Society, state and political theory.

2. The social development of political theory.

I. Social development and political theory.

"The history of political thought is marked by two fundamental principles. First, there has always been a constant reciprocal relation between political thought and political action. The event produces the idea and the idea, in turn, affects the event. The great writings in the field of political science have nearly always been livres de circonstance; very seldom have they been the product of the cloister, detached from the pulsating current of life. Political science has not developed in vacuum. Secondly, the course of political thought has been progressive. One can perceive a development in the ideas which men have held regarding the state, as one can perceive an evolution in the record of their social and political history. But this progress has throughout been effected by a process of action and reaction. The course has never been directly towards the goal. We ascend, as it were, a spiral staircase and, at any particular moment, it may appear that we are merely moving in a direction opposite to that previously pursued. But, the reaction may carry us to the same relative position, it is never the same absolute position. The pendulum may swing back and forth but, at the same time, the base of the pendulum is moving onward. Let us keep in mind that an understanding of political ideas is always conditioned by an application of their historical

"background and that their history reveals thruout the process of progressive development." - W.J. Shepard, in The History of and Prospects of the Social Sciences, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes.

A. Social basis and ideological superstructure.

B. The illusory independence and self-development of ideology.

"Morality, religion, metaphysics and other aspects of ideology...lose their appearance of self-existence. They have no history; they have no self-development. Only men, developing their material production and their material relations, change their thought and the products of their thought in the course of their activity." - K. Marx.

"Thoughts are actually connected with one another thru the medium of their empiric basis." - K. Marx.

C. The continuity in the development of ideology.

D. The dialectic interaction of social basis and ideological superstructure.

II. Plato (b.427 B.C.), Aristotle (b.387 B.C.) and ancient slave society.

A. The place of Plato and Aristotle in the development of West European political thought.

B. Economic and social conditions in Greece at the time of Plato.

1. The city-state -- Hellas.

a. The transition from tribal society to the city-state.

2. Economic life.

a. Agriculture: large estates operated by slaves - small holdings of peasants - cattle raising.

b. Industry: handicraft industry and artisans - large-scale production - mining.

c. Commerce: rise of commerce and sea-faring conducted on a capitalistic basis - piracy.

d. Money-lending and commercial and industrial financing.

3. Social classes.

a. Leisure class aristocracy: big landowners (slaveowners) and aristocratic rich merchants.

b. Farmers and herdsmen.

c. Artisans and mechanics - laborers.

d. Merchants and sea-farers.

e. Disemployed city poor.

f. Slaves.

4. Political relations in the city-state.

a. Desperate class struggles resulting in frequent revolutions.

b. The passing of the ancient monarchy.

c. Aristocracy - Oligarchy - Democracy - Tyranny.

5. The disintegration of the economic and social foundations of the old city-state in fourth century Greece.

a. The consequences of slavery for the free peasants and artisans.

- 3 -
- b. The corroding effects of merchant and usury capital on the old economic system.
 - c. The inadequacy of the self-contained city-state under the new economic conditions. - The unification of Greece under Alexander.
 - d. The era of intellectual fermentation.
- C. The general features of political philosophy in ancient Greek slave society.
- 1. No distinction made between society, state and city.
 - 2. The ethical aim of political philosophy: to discover and describe the best or ideal state and to criticize existing states from this viewpoint.
 - 3. The lack of any historical sense or conception of evolution.
 - a. The assumption of existing economic and social institutions as inherently natural (or unnatural).
 - 4. The assumption of inborn human nature as the basis of the ideal state.
 - 5. The organic conception of state.
 - 6. The aristocratic bias of political philosophy. - Only the leisure class regarded as capable of political thought and action.
- D. Plato and "The Republic".
- 1. The purpose of Plato's study - to understand the nature of justice by examining it in the state - the state as the individual writ large.
 - 2. The origin of the state according to Plato.
 - a. In early times, small groups without occupational division of labor - general communism - no state.
 - b. The rise of the state under the impact of greed and luxury - the increase of population and the expansion of needs - the occupational division of labor - the rise of different and varying groups and interests - the necessity for a state to harmonize the varying elements to the end of justice.
 - 3. The best or ideal state as the embodiment of justice.
 - a. The social structure of ideal state.

"To sum up, the ideal Platonic state...consists of the philosophers as governors who are aided by the fighting class to temper those willing serfs, the workers. The harmony existing in such a state is justice." - Henry Alpern, The March of Philosophy.

- 1. The Guardians - ruling philosopher-caste.
- 2. The Soldiers.
- 3. The Producers - farmers and artisans.
- b. The selection of the castes - inborn individual nature developed by training and education.
- c. The hierarchical structure as the embodiment of virtue.

"In short, the perfect society would be that in which each class and each unit would be doing the work to which its nature and aptitude best adapted it; in which no class or no individual would interfere with others but all would cooperate in difference

"to produce an efficient and harmonious whole." -
Will Durant, The Story of Philosophy.

Wisdom - Rulers.
Courage - Soldiers.
Temperance - (obedience) - Producers.
Justice - harmony of all so that each exercises its
virtue.

- d. The Rulers and the masses.
 - 1. Strict communism among the Rulers so as to preserve them from self-interest and corruption.
 - 2. The state as a form of domination. - The control of the masses thru "fables" and force.

"Our Rulers will find a considerable dose of falsehood and deceit necessary for the good of their subjects." - Plato.

- 4. The degeneration (devolution) of the state.
 - a. The forces of degeneration: overpopulation - competitive trade - war.
 - b. The stages of degeneration in decreasing order of justice: Aristocracy (rule of the best) - Timocracy (rule of the soldier caste) - Oligarchy (rule of the rich) - Democracy (rule of the masses) - Tyranny (rule of a single man).
 - c. The process of degeneration.
 - 1. From Aristocracy to Timocracy: war - victory - influence of military caste and leaders - Timocracy.
 - 2. From Timocracy to Oligarchy: military caste becomes indebted to wealthy and fall under their control - wealthy usurp power - Oligarchy.
 - 3. From Oligarchy to Democracy: wealthy use control of state to advance own interests - increase of exploitation and oppression -- polarization of community into rich and poor - unrest and revolt of masses of poor - Democracy.
 - 4. From Democracy to Tyranny: Democracy unstable - leader of revolt concentrates power in own hands because masses cannot rule - becomes despot - Tyranny.

E. Aristotle and his "Politics".

- 1. Social changes in Aristotle's time. - The collapse of the old city-state system and the triumph of the Macedonian monarchy (Alexander).
- 2. Aristotle's triple purpose: (a) to discover the ideal state; (b) to make an empirical study of existing Greek states and constitutions; (c) to provide practical guiding lines of political policy.
- 3. The general social viewpoint of Aristotle.
 - a. His economic attitude a criticism of the new commercial and commodity economy from the viewpoint of the old economic system.
 - 1. His contrast between "economy" and "money-getting".
 - 2. His contempt for handicraft or "mere bodily labor".

3. His evaluation of economic activities: (a) agriculture, cattle raising, hunting, fishing, piracy; (b) industry - the conversion of raw materials into goods; (c) retail and wholesale trade; (d) finance and money-lending.
4. His defense of private property against Plato's communism and the "share-the-wealth" tendencies of the democracy.
- b. His defense of slavery and of the caste system generally.
 1. Slavery based on human nature.

"From the hour of their birth some are marked for subjection, others for command... It is better for all inferiors that they should be under the rule of a master." - Aristotle.
 2. Slavery necessary to compel men to produce (for a leisure class).-- The slave a "living instrument."

"If every instrument would accomplish its own work, obeying or anticipating the will of others,.... if the shuttle would weave or the plectrum touch the lyre without a hand to guide them, then the chief workmen would not need assistants nor masters slaves." - Aristotle.
- c. His political conservatism.

"The habit of lightly changing the laws is an evil and when the advantage of change is small, some defects, whether in the law or in the ruler, had better be met with philosophic toleration. The citizen will gain less by change than he will lose by acquiring the habit of disobedience.... To pass lightly from old laws to new ones is a certain means of weakening the inmost essence of all law whatever." - Aristotle.
4. The origin of the state according to Aristotle.
 - a. From the family to the village community - communistic and stateless.
 - b. From the village community to the state. - The state as a fusion of village communities.
 1. State and city identical with Aristotle.
5. The state as a product of nature.
 - a. The life of man possible (or perfect) only in the state (society).

"Man is by nature a political animal." - Aristotle.
 - b. The determination of the state by the individual human nature of man. - The state as mere aggregation of citizens.
 1. Human nature as essentially bad.

"The wickedness of mankind is insatiable." - Aristotle.
 - c. The state as plurality not as unity (Plato).
6. The state as a form of domination.
 - a. Every state dominated by a ruling class.
 - b. The stability of the state determined by the strength of the ruling class and its ability to rule.

"It is necessary to begin by assuming a principle of general application, namely, that that part of the state which desires the continuance of the government must be stronger than that which does not." - Aristotle.

7. The nature of the ideal state.

- a. The ideal state as a "community of freemen" for the purpose of making possible the living of a good life.

"...the ideal of a government by reason with the purpose and aim of securing the most perfect justice for every citizen by according to him the full opportunity of developing to the utmost his natural capacities." - W.J. Shepard, in The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes.

- b. The exclusion of slaves, laborers, artisans, etc., from citizenship. - Citizenship limited to leisure classes and those engaged in agriculture.

"It is allowed that in every well-regulated state the members of it should be free from servile labor." - Aristotle.

"The best form of the state will not admit mechanics to citizenship...At Thebes, there was a law that no man could hold office who had not retired from business ten years before." - Aristotle.

c. Forms of the state in the order of preference.

1. Monarchy - rule of one man.
2. Aristocracy - rule of a few men.
3. Constitutional government - rule of citizens as a whole.

d. The perversions of the forms of the state.

1. Monarchy - Tyranny.
2. Aristocracy - Oligarchy.
3. Constitutional government - Democracy.

e. The best practical type of state a mixture of the three (especially of Aristocracy and Democracy) - to assure stability and security.

8. How to maintain the stability of the state.

- a. The establishment of a firm economic base for the state. - The best base is the "middle classes".

1. The necessity of avoiding extremes of wealth and poverty.

- b. The importance of education in the stability of the state.

"That which most contributes to permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government...The citizen should be moulded to the form of government under which he lives." - Aristotle.

- c. The encouragement of colonization so as to avoid overpopulation.

- d. The fostering of religion.

9. The value of Aristotle's researches into the constitutional history of the Greek states.

F. Political thought in later Greek and Roman times.

1. The universal empire.

2. The "law of nature" and the "law of the peoples".

III. Augustine (b.354 A.D.), Thomas Aquinas (b.1225 A.D.) and Christian medievalism.

A. The decay of the Roman empire and the rise of Christianity.

1. The decay of Roman civilization.

a. The nature of this decay. - Myths and fallacies about the "fall" of the Roman Empire and the "barbarian invasions."

b. Factors making for the decay of Roman civilization.

1. The failure of slavery as the economic basis of Roman civilization.

a. Slavery and the decay of agriculture.

b. Slavery and the stagnation (retrogression) of the forces of production.

c. The slave economy as an inadequate base for the huge superstructure of imperial economics.

2. The economically unhealthy relations between the Roman metropolis and the provinces.

3. The undermining of the position of the peasantry and free artisans and the creation of a disemployed city proletariat.

4. The polarization of Roman society: wealthy agrarian plutocracy and pauperized masses. - The gradual extinction of the "middle elements" (curiales).

5. Chronic and futile class struggles. - Political decay.

a. The collapse of the aristocratic republic and the rise of the empire.

c. The Roman social system in a blind alley: no class able to show the way out thru the reorganization of economic life on a new basis.

d. Aspects of the decay of Roman civilization.

1. Economic decay and disintegration.

2. The gradual disorganization of the imperial administration and finances.

3. The decline of Roman military power.

4. Social and cultural decay.

a. Parasitism and decadence in social life.

b. The spread of social apathy, pessimism, despair.

c. Scepticism and mysticism in spiritual life.

e. Roman decay and the "barbarian invasions."

2. The rise of Christianity and its spread thruout the Roman world as an aspect of the decay of classical civilization.

a. Christianity as a Jewish sect.

1. Messiah cults in Palestine.

2. Jesus, Jewish society and the Roman power. - Jesus as a social rebel.

3. The rise of the Christian cult as a new religion.

b. The influx of Oriental Messiah and salvation cults into Rome.

1. The readiness of Roman society to receive consolatory mysticism.

c. The spread of Christianity as a religion of spiritual revolt.

1. Christianity as illusory (spiritual) emancipation in a situation where real (social) emancipation is impossible. - "After Spartacus came Jesus."

2. The main features of Christianity in its early (radical) stages.

- a. Christian supernaturalism and mysticism contrasted with the naturalism of classical civilization.
 1. The Hebrew-Christian myth of the Fall and Redemption of Man.
- b. The social ideals of Christianity.
 1. The universal expectation of the immediate Second Coming of Christ and the ushering in of the Kingdom of God on earth.
 2. The primitive communism of early Christianity. - The exaltation of the poor as against the rich.
 3. The spiritual brotherhood of all men and the contempt for social distinctions.
 4. The anti-authoritarian and anti-state (anarchistic) attitude of early Christianity.
3. The appeal of early Christianity to the slaves and lower classes of Roman society, especially in the cities.
4. The early Christian community and church.
5. The persecution of early Christianity as a subversive social movement.
- d. The stabilization of Christianity as the religion of spiritual enslavement.
 1. The shift in the social composition of the Christian sect and the gradual dissolution of the primitive Christian community.
 - a. The increasing appeal of Christian consolatory mysticism to the upper classes sinking into helpless despair at the crumbling of civilization.
 2. Christianity as the state religion of the empire.
 3. The gradual replacement of the old democratic church by a far-flung hierarchical structure modelled after the imperial administration. - The rise and consolidation of the Papacy.
 - a. The crumbling imperial structure and the rising ecclesiastical structure.
 4. The transformation of the social ideals of Christianity.
 - a. The defense of private property and slavery.
 - b. The acceptance of social distinctions and the caste system as divinely ordained.
 - c. The affirmation of the state as a necessary institution on a sinful world.
 5. The Church as part of the imperial structure. - The clergy as part of the ruling class.
- B. Augustine and "The City of God."
 1. Augustine's supernatural conception of history.
 - a. His absolute lack of all historical or rational criticism.
 - b. God's Will, manifested in his Providence, the cause of all history.
 1. Free Will an instrument of Divine Providence.
"Our Will is able to accomplish just so much as God willed and foresaw it should accomplish." - Augustine.
 2. God's Providence extends to every detail and triviality of life.
 - c. The aim of human history as the reestablishment of complete union with God thru the elimination (overcoming) of evil.
 1. The Church as the instrument of this movement and hence the supreme and primary institution of society.
 2. The spiritual struggle between the God-power and the Devil-power as the key to universal history.

- d. The incorporation of Greek and Roman myths into history.
- e. The five epochs of universal history before Christ. - The sixth epoch until the Second Coming (Day of Judgment).
2. Augustine's theory of the state.
 - a. The origin and nature of the worldly (temporal) state in general.
 1. The City of God in Heaven - (defection of some of the angels under Satan) - The City of the Devil.
 2. The creation of the world - The City of God on Earth and the City of the Devil on Earth (the city of the World).
 3. The Second Coming of Christ and the triumph of the City of God.
 - b. The nature of the Roman Empire.
 1. The pagan Empire as the City of the Devil.
 2. The new Christian Empire.
 - a. The remnants of the old anti-state attitude.
 - b. The attempt to reconcile the Roman Empire with the future City of God of Christian doctrine.
 - c. The justification of the state.
 1. The state for the temporal advancement of mankind.
 2. But this is possible only if the state is just, i.e., if it follows the guidance of the Church and recognizes the supreme authority as of God.
 3. Otherwise, it is the City of the Devil and not entitled to allegiance and obedience.
 - d. The main institutions of the Christian state - the Roman Empire.
 1. Its universal character with Rome as a center.
 2. Private property, slavery and the caste system.
 - a. Communism and universal fraternity appropriate to mankind in state of innocence but not for sinful humanity.

"The three great institutions of social life, namely, government, private property and slavery, are all defended by St. Augustine as being the inevitable results of the disorder effected by sin.....the principle expounded by St. Augustine..., namely the dual nature of man, his former innocence and his present sinfulness. In his former state man was free and equal and without possessions; since the Fall he has needed to be set in a social hierarchy, to be in submission to someone else and to have property of his own." - Bede Jarrett, article on The Universal Church, in Vol. 1 of the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.
 - b. Communism properly limited to clergy.
 3. The Emperor and the imperial hierarchy.
3. Some ideological sources of Augustine's political conceptions.
 - a. Is there any genuinely Jewish element in Augustine's thought?
 - b. Augustine's theory of history derived from neo-Platonism tinged with Jewish-Oriental mysticism.
 - c. Augustine's theory of the state derived from Aristotle thru Cicero adapted to Christian apology for the existing state.

C. The main aspects of Christian medievalism.

1. The sources of medieval institutions. - Medieval Europe a fusion of Gallo-Romanic society and Teuton barbarian society.
 - a. The breakup of Gallo-Roman society.
 - b. The breakdown of the kinship system in Teutonic economic and social life.
 2. The economic foundations of medieval society.
 - a. Economic institutions in agriculture. - The manor.
 1. Origins of the manor.
 - a. The Germanic Mark and original communal ownership of land.
 - b. The Gallo-Roman Villa and original slavery.
 1. The development of coloni "attached to the soil - and half-slaves of the landowners" (Rostovtzeff)
 - c. The Germanic conquests and the subjugation of the agricultural population.
 2. The main features of the manorial system.
 - a. Primitive methods of production and technique. - The division of labor on the manor.
 - b. Peasantry (serfs) and lord.
 - c. The social division of the product on the manor between peasantry and lord.
 - d. Production for use and production for sale.
 3. The localism and particularism of medieval agriculture.
 - b. Economic institutions of medieval commerce and industry. - The medieval town.
 1. The origins of the medieval town and its later development.
 2. Medieval commerce and the merchant guild.
 - a. Local and internal trade. - The fair and the market-day.
 - b. The revival of foreign trade as a capitalistic venture.
 - c. Commerce and usury.
 3. Medieval industry and the craft guild.
 - a. Origins of medieval industry.
 - b. Handicraft production and the technique of medieval industry.
 - c. The social organization of medieval production - masters, journeymen and apprentices.
 - d. Industry and commerce.
 4. The medieval guild.
 - a. Its internal organization.
 - b. Its economic functions.
 - c. Its social and political functions.
 - c. Medieval agriculture, commerce and industry mark a distinct retrogression as compared with Roman civilization.
3. The social organization of medieval society. - Feudalism.
 - a. Social castes (estates) in medieval society - the gentleman (lord) and the common man (peasant - later, burgher). - The clerical caste.
 - b. The foundation of feudal social organization - land-tenure as determinative of individual obligation and duty. - The feudal hierarchy.
 1. The infeudation of land. - Feudal tenure and feudal aids. - The fief and the benefice.
 2. Lord and vassal.
 - c. The feudal order and the medieval town.
 1. The relation of the town to the feudal lord.

2. Social organization in the town. - Patricians and plebeians. - Major guilds and minor guilds.
- d. Localism and particularism in medieval town life.
- e. The origins of feudalism in Western Europe.
 1. The breakdown of social organization in the late Roman Empire.
 - a. The extinction of the middle classes and the rise of the colonate and the institution of commendation.
 2. The Teutonic Gefolge (comitatus) and the conquest of Roman Gaul.
4. The political institutions of medieval Europe.
 - a. The feudal foundations of political organization. - Immunity and jurisdiction.
 1. Political power as an attribute of land-tenure.
 2. The hierarchical structure of medieval political organization. - "Every lord judged, taxed and commanded the class next below him." (Stubbs).
 - a. The feudal lord and his court of vassals.
 - b. The role of the town in the medieval political system.
 1. The political relation of town to feudal lord. - The "free town" and its charter.
 2. The representation of the town in the king's parliament as the estate of the commons.
 3. The internal political organization of the town as corporate self-government.
 4. The new city-state system in Italy.
 - c. Feudal separatism and the absence of nationalism in medieval political life.
 - d. The medieval kingship. - The king as chief feudal lord. - The royal political institutions.
 1. The king and his court.
 2. The king and his assembly of estates (parliament).
 3. The limitations on the kingly power.
 - e. The Holy Roman Empire in medieval Europe.
 1. The revival of the Empire.
 - a. The division of the Empire between East and West.
 - b. The collapse of the Western Empire and the stable development of the Eastern Empire.
 - c. The "reestablishment" of the Western Empire thru Charlemagne (800 A.D.). - The transference of the Empire to Otto I of Saxony (962 A.D.).
 2. The role of the Empire in medieval political life.
 - a. The tradition and prestige of the Empire. - The Empire as the temporal embodiment of Christian universalism.
 - b. The actual place of the Empire in the feudal political system.
5. The Catholic Church in medieval society.
 - a. Religion as the central human interest in medieval society.
 - b. The Church as an autonomous and self-contained organization in the medieval world.
 1. The internal structure and functioning of the Church.
 2. The role of the Papacy.
 - c. The Church as the spiritual (and clerical) embodiment of Christian universalism.
 - d. The economic position of the Church in medieval society.
 - e. The Church and feudalism.
 1. The universalism of the Church against the separatism of feudalism.

2. The high Church dignitaries (bishops, cardinals) as feudal lords.
- f. Monasticism and medieval life.
- g. Heresy and social struggle in medieval society.
- h. The Church as the "ideological caste". - The universities and Scholasticism.
6. The struggle for supremacy between Papacy and Empire.
 - a. The Papacy as the Roman power with the collapse of the Empire.
 1. The establishment of the temporal power of the Papacy.
 - b. The "reestablishment" of the Empire.
 1. The role of the Papacy in the reestablishment of the Empire.
 - c. The century-long struggle between Papacy and Empire.
 1. The literary-theoretical aspect of this struggle.
7. Some socio-cultural features of medieval society.
 - a. The transformation of objective socio-economic relations into personal relations.
 - b. Hierarchy and corporative status in medieval society.
 - c. Custom and tradition in medieval life. - Conservatism. - The lack of all historical sense.
 - d. Localism (particularism) and universalism in medieval society.
 - e. The central position of religion on medieval life.
 1. The duality of all life. - spiritual and temporal.
 - f. Scholasticism and the prestige of Aristotle.
 - g. Christian medievalism a retrogression from Roman civilization.
- D. Thomas Aquinas and the political philosophy of medieval scholasticism.
 1. The significance of Thomas Aquinas as the great philosopher of Christian medievalism.
 2. The social and historical conceptions of Thomas Aquinas.
 - a. The aim of the Thomist social philosophy - to reconcile the teachings of Aristotle with the doctrines of the Church.
 - b. The driving force of history - the Will of God determining the aim and course of historical development.
 - c. But God's Will, worked thru human nature.
 1. Human nature the driving force in human conduct.

"All beings endowed with a definite nature necessarily act according to that nature, for any activity peculiar to an object proceeds according to its nature." - Thomas Aquinas.
 2. But human nature is formed by God.
 - d. The underlying aim of human development and history.
 1. Every created thing has its purpose.
 2. The purpose of human life - to achieve complete happiness thru spiritual union with God.
 3. The part played by social institutions in achieving this aim.
 - e. Two dominant ideas in Thomist social philosophy.
 1. History as the working out of the inborn human nature of man (i.e., the human nature common to all men)
 2. History as a development with a definite and predetermined aim. - Teleology.
 - f. The social functionalism of the Thomist philosophy - the purpose of a social institution determined its form and character.

g. Thomas's views on economic and social structure.

1. The social background: the Italian city-state set in the medieval system.
2. Thomas's evaluation of economic activities in the social scale.
 - a. Priests - scholars.
 - b. Landowning nobility.
 - c. Rich merchants, bankers, artisans.
 - d. Small artisans and merchants.
 - e. Peasants and laborers.
3. Thomas's justification of commerce and money-making.
4. Thomas's justification of the caste system as given by the varying natural endowments of men.
3. The political conceptions of Thomas Aquinas.
 - a. The identity of society and state.
 - b. The origin of the state.
 1. The family group as the original social organization of mankind.
 2. The rise of the state thru the fusion of families.
 - a. Man is "by nature a social and political animal."
 - b. The end of Christian anti-statism.
 3. The state arises as a result of the occupational division of labor to meet multiplying human wants thru the application of human reason.

"Man is by nature a social and political animal driven to association by his natural needs far more than is any other created being. For other beings are provided with food by nature, with hair for covering, with teeth, horns and claws for defense or at least for flight. Man alone is denied all this natural equipment. But just for that, he is endowed with reason by means of which he is able to effect anything with his hands. But no man is able to accomplish anything by himself. No man is in a position to live any sort of life by himself. Hence it follows that it is the intention of nature that men should live in populous societies." - Thomas Aquinas.

- c. The nature of the state.- The ideal state.
 1. The purpose of the state as the determinant of its character and structure.
 - a. The virtuous life as the immediate aim of the state.
 - b. But the virtuous life itself has the spiritual aim of union with God.

"Since the virtuous man is also determined to a further end, the purpose of society is not merely that man should live virtuously but that, by virtue, he should come to the enjoyment of God." - Thomas Aquinas.

2. Theocracy as the ideal form of government.

"The method of St. Thomas is clear. The character of the supreme directing authority of society depends upon the purpose for which society exists; and, because that end was a divine end, logically the government of this world should be a theocracy."

E.F. Jacob, article on The Growth of Autonomy in Vol. 1 of the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

a. Hence the supremacy of the Papacy over temporal rulers.

"The administration of this kingdom has been committed not to the kings of this world but to priests....and so to the Supreme Pontiff, the representative of Christ." - Thomas Aquinas.

3. Other forms of government approach the ideal insofar as the temporal power is subordinated to the spiritual (i.e., to the church).

d. The nature of law. - Divine law, natural law, the law of nations, civil law.

1. Law as the "reasonableness" (ratio) of political conduct.

2. Divine Law and the divine purpose of the state.

3. Natural law as eternal and instinctive (i.e., given in human nature) - hence a reflection of divine law.

4. Civil (positive, conventional) law as the law of convention in harmony with natural law.

5. The "law of nations" as the conventional expression of natural law - hence what is universal in civil law.

6. The validity of civil law dependent on its harmony with natural (hence, divine) law.

"Every human law has, as its condition of being a law, that it shall be derived from a law of nature....It is of the essence of a human law that it should be derived from the law of nature."

- Thomas Aquinas.

4. The struggle over the Thomist political philosophy.

a. Thomism as the official Papal philosophy.

IV. The political theory of early capitalism.

A. The decline of medieval society and the dawn of modern times.

1. The undermining of the economic foundations of medieval society thru the expansion of capitalist commerce.

a. The nature and development of capitalist commerce in the later Middle Ages.

b. The economic consequences of the expansion of capitalist commerce.

1. The new possibilities of the utilization of agricultural surplus and the advantages of its conversion into money. - Production for use gives way to production for sale.

2. The decay of serfdom with the development of capitalist commerce.

a. The conversion of feudal dues into money payments.

b. The expropriation of the peasants to make way for more profitable utilization of the land.

3. The decay of the guild system of medieval industry.

a. The sudden expansion of the old known, stable and local markets.

b. The inadequacy of the guild system in the face of the new situation.

c. The gradual development of industry outside of old guild restrictions.

c. The economic consequences of the discovery of America.

2. The rise of a new system of economic life - commercial capitalism.

a. Capitalist commerce as the controller and pace-setter of economic life.

1. Expansion in volume and scope of trade. - The shift in commercial activity to the Atlantic.
2. New financial methods and institutions.
3. New forms of commercial organization.
4. The great commercial monopolies.
- b. The semi-capitalist character of agriculture.
- c. New forms of industry under commercial capitalism.
 1. The "domestic system" ("cottage industry").
 2. The early factories.
- d. The development of the internal (domestic) market.
3. Some social and political features of the new period.
 - a. Fundamental changes in class structure and relations. - The growing importance of the towns.
 1. The rise of commercial (and financial) bourgeoisie.
 2. The decline of the economic power of the old feudal aristocracy and their growing dependence on the bourgeoisie.
 3. The permanent subjection of the artisan to the merchant.
 4. The beginnings of the modern proletariat.
 - b. The rise of nationalism and the national state.
 1. The economic necessity of national unity and uniformity.
 - a. Feudal separatism as an obstacle to the development of commerce and industry.
 2. The national state and nationalism in social and cultural life.
 3. The bourgeoisie as the bearer of nationalism.
 - c. The rise of the absolute monarchy in the dynastic national state.
 1. The necessity of a strong and centralized power for the development of commerce and industry.
 2. The establishment of the absolute monarchy thru the support of the royal power by the bourgeoisie.
 - a. The feudal nobility already too weak and new bourgeoisie not yet strong enough to wield political power directly.
 - b. The alliance of the royal power with the rising bourgeoisie.
 - c. The destruction of the independent political power of the feudal nobility. - The conversion of the feudal noble into the courtier.
 3. The transformation in the structure of the state with the rise of the absolute monarchy.
 - d. The secularization of the national state.
 - e. The beginnings of a political realignment with bourgeoisie against king and courtiers. - The bourgeoisie aspires to direct and independent power.
4. Some socio-cultural aspects of the new period. - The Renaissance and the Reformation.
 - a. The cultural revolt against medievalism expressed primarily as a revolt against Catholicism and the Catholic world-view.
 1. Humanism against other-worldliness.
 2. Secularism against clericalism.
 3. Rationalism against superstition.
 4. Private judgment against authority.
 - b. The revival of humanism as a reversion to the classical Greco-Roman outlook. - The "revival of learning".
 1. The great efflorescence of culture in the Renaissance.

- c. The rise of nationalism in language and culture. - National language and national literature.
- d. The rise of individualism as against the corporative spirit of the Middle Ages. - "Free contract" as against status.
- e. The dawn of modern science as the independent investigation of nature.
- f. The Reformation as the bourgeoisification and nationalization of Christianity.
- B. Some general features of the political theory of early capitalism.
 - 1. Intense nationalism.
 - a. National unity against medieval localism.
 - b. National independence and self-interest against medieval universalism.
 - 2. The secular character of the state and politics.
 - a. The independence of the state from religious (ecclesiastical) control.
 - b. Political theory as a humanistic science.
 - 1. Rationalism and empiricism in political science.
 - 3. The unity and indivisibility of sovereignty. - The state as the sole possessor of sovereignty.
 - a. Law as the dictate of the sovereign.
 - 4. The origin and nature of the state.
 - a. The state of nature and natural rights.
 - 1. The state of nature as the original condition of mankind.
 - a. Was the state of nature conceived as a real historical period or as methodological fiction?
 - b. The state of nature as a state of anarchy.
 - c. The state of nature as determined by the nature of man.
 - 1. The state of nature either as a state of virtuous harmony or of anarchic discord depending on whether human nature is regarded as fundamentally virtuous or vicious.
 - d. The state of nature and the newly discovered Americas.
 - 2. Natural rights and natural law.
 - a. Natural right as the command of right reason.

"Natural right is a command of reason indicating that a certain line of conduct, because of its agreement with or opposition to reasonable nature itself, is essentially morally necessary or morally hateful..." - Hugo Grotius.
 - b. Natural right as the law of natural existence, of existence in the state of nature.
 - c. The natural rights as
 - 1. the inviolability of life and liberty.
 - 2. the sanctity of private property.
 - 3. the freedom and sanctity of contract.
 - b. The state as the conscious union of individuals thru a mutual compact (social contract). - Civil society and natural law.
 - 1. The motive of union into the state - conscious self-interest so as to overcome the evils of anarchy, to obtain peace and security and to achieve the benefits of organization.

2. The constitution of the state thru the transference of the natural rights of individuals to the sovereign.
3. Civil society (the state) established for the purpose of confirming and enforcing natural rights thru positive legislation.
4. Hence no civil laws can violate natural rights which constitute the higher law.
5. Bourgeois political theory and bourgeois outlook and social interests.
 - a. The bourgeois interest in the national and secular state.
 - b. The bourgeois interest in the united and indivisible sovereign state.
 - c. The state of nature as the state of primitive (natural) individualism.
 - d. Natural rights as the idealized social demands of the bourgeoisie.
 - e. The theory of social contract as the reflection of the bourgeois ideology of individualism and of free contract as the essential bond of society.
 - f. Civil society as organized individualism.
- C. Marsiglio of Padua, Niccolo Machiavelli and the nascent national state.
 1. Marsiglio of Padua. - The "Defender of Peace" (1360).
 - a. Marsiglio as the champion of the Emperor against the Pope but distinctively modern in his viewpoint.
 - b. Some features of Marsiglio's conceptions.
 1. Nascent nationalism.
 2. The sovereignty and unity of the state. - Legislation the monopoly of the indivisible state.
 3. The separation of powers. - The ultimate supremacy of legislative branch.
 4. The secularization of the state. - Religious toleration.
 5. The right of a people to depose a prince overstepping his legal authority.
 2. Niccolo Machiavelli. - "The Prince" (1513) and "The History of Florence" (1521).
 - a. The social and historical background of Machiavelli's views.
 1. The Italian city-state system.
 2. The division and impotence of Italy.
 - a. The mercenary system and the military powerlessness of Italy.
 3. Foreign (French, Spanish) domination.
 4. The disastrous influence of Papacy and Emperor.
 - b. Machiavelli's great political ideals.
 1. The unification of Italy under a great and powerful prince. - Burning nationalism and patriotism.
 2. The destruction of the power of the Papacy.
 3. The independence of Italy from foreign domination. - The ousting of the "barbarians."
 4. The reform of the military system.
 - c. The main conceptions of Machiavelli, the first modern political philosopher.
 1. His thoroly scientific approach to history and politics. - The divorce of social science from religion and ethics.
 2. His theory of history as the struggle of social classes in advancement of their socio-economic aims and interests.

3. His empirical attitude to the state.
 4. The unity and indivisibility of sovereignty in the state - best effected in a strong prince.
 5. The necessity of the state (prince) having a strong social base.
 6. In statecraft, the end justifies the means.
 7. The self-interest of states - each the enemy of all.
- D. Political philosophy in defense of the absolute monarchy.
1. The progressive (bourgeois-nationalist) defense of the absolute monarchy against feudal separatism.
 - a. Jean Bodin. - "The Republic" (1575).
 1. Bodin's philosophy of history - geographical materialism.
 - a. Man's social conduct determined by the "natural situation" (climate, products of the soil, aspect of nature, etc.)
 2. The origin of the state thru the social contract.
 - a. The state of nature and natural law.
 - b. The social contract and the formation of the state thru the delegation of power to the sovereign.
 3. Either limited or absolute power may be delegated to the sovereign but only the delegation of absolute power can meet the needs of political society.
 - a. The defense of the claims of the state against Pope and Emperor outside and against baron and free city from within.
 4. The unity, indivisibility and absoluteness of sovereignty.
 - a. The nature of sovereignty as "supreme power over citizens unrestrained by law."
 - b. The nature of law as the will of the sovereign.
 - c. All parliamentary bodies merely advisory to sovereign prince.
 5. But the sovereign cannot invade natural rights.
 - a. The sacred natural rights - inviolability of person and of property.
 - b. Hence taxation must proceed only with the consent of the subjects.
 6. If the monarch violates natural law, subjects may refuse obedience thru passive resistance but not thru active opposition.
 2. The conservative (royal-aristocratic) defense of the absolute monarchy against the political claims of the bourgeoisie to direct and independent power.
 - a. Bishop Jacques Bossuet. - "Politics According to the Holy Writ" (1710).
 1. The origin of the state.
 - a. The state of nature as anarchic discord with man against man and with might as right.
 - b. The rise of the state thru the formation of bands under strong warrior leaders - but not thru social contract.
 1. Men form societies because such is their nature as impressed by God.
 2. Monarchs are God's representatives on earth. - originally (among the Jews) God himself was king.
 3. Hence the monarch has absolute power.
 4. If the monarch violates the laws of God, then the subjects may refuse obedience thru passive resistance but not thru active opposition.

b. Thomas Hobbes. - "On the Citizen" (1642) and "Leviathan" (1650).

1. The social and historical background of Hobbes's conceptions.

a. The revolutionary offensive of the commercial bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified landowners, supported by the artisans and peasants, against the monarchy and the cavalier (courtier) aristocracy.

b. The Civil War (1642) and the Restoration (1660).

2. Hobbes's socio-economic viewpoint.

a. His exaltation of agriculture.

b. His hatred and contempt for the new commercial bourgeoisie.

1. Their facility in converting their interests into moral principles.

2. Their mercenary selfishness - their only concern is "to get rich without limit by the wisdom of buying and selling."

3. The merchants as the "sworn enemy of the state."

4. They exploit and oppress the people. - The beginnings of conservative anti-capitalism.

c. Security and order as the highest social goods.

3. Hobbes's main political conceptions.

a. The origin of the state.

1. The state of nature as an intolerable condition of freedom and anarchy in which might is right.

"Continual fear and danger of violent death... no propriety, no dominion... but only that to be every man's that he can get and for so long as he can keep it." - Thomas Hobbes.

2. Natural law, the "dictates of natural reason and morality", dormant in the state of nature.

3. The state formed by social contract for security and order, for realizing in fact the natural rights. - Right and law created by the state.

4. The state formed by permanently alienating the natural freedom of the state of nature to the sovereign, who is absolute.

b. Force as the nature of the state.

c. The absoluteness of the state. - The sovereign is no party to the compact, hence under no obligations.

d. State law can never come into conflict with natural law.

"Hence it follows that public law can not come into conflict with natural law, for when the former commands what the latter forbids, as thievery, etc., these acts are no longer of this character." - Thomas Hobbes.

e. The sovereign may be either a monarch or an assembly.

- Monarchy the best system -- all other forms of government perversions of monarchy.

"Other governments were compacted by the artifice of men out of the ashes of monarchy after it had been ruined by seditions." - Thomas Hobbes.

f. The complete equality in subjection of all citizens before the sovereign and the law.

g. The functions of the government.

1. To maintain the essential rights of sovereignty and to educate the people to obedience.
 2. The duties of the sovereign.
 - a. The preservation of law and order and the protection of the lives and property of the subjects.
 - b. If the sovereign is unable to guarantee the security for which the state is created, the covenant lapses and man resumes his natural rights.
 4. The general nature of Hobbes's political philosophy.
 - a. The defense of the reactionary monarchy from a thoroughly bourgeois, secular standpoint.
 - b. Hobbes defends not so much the absolute monarchy as the absolute state.
 - c. By making an elected assembly the sovereign, Hobbes's system becomes an absolutist republicanism.
- E. Political philosophy in opposition to absolute monarchy. The monarchomachs (anti-monarchists).
1. The conservative (medieval) opposition to absolute monarchy.
 - a. Catholic anti-monarchism.
 1. The Thomist doctrine of subordination of secular to ecclesiastical authority.
 2. The right of revolt against heretical monarchs. - Regicide and assassination.
 3. The Jesuits as preachers of anti-monarchism.
 - b. Huguenot anti-monarchism and the reactionary "free cities."
 2. The progressive (bourgeois-republican) opposition to absolute monarchy. - Calvinist and Puritan anti-monarchism.
 - a. Hugo Languet (Stephanus Junius Brutus). - "Vindication Against Tyrants" (1579).
 1. The state of nature. - The formation of the state in order to achieve peace and the security of property.
 2. The social contract - first a contract with God - then a contract of the people with the ruler.
 3. Sovereignty remains with the people. - The right of active resistance against a king who violates the contract.
 4. But the sovereign people is not the "great ignorant and confused mass" but their natural representatives (ephors). - Popular (mass) resistance sinful but ephors may lead people against king.
 - b. John Milton. - "Defense of the English people" (1650).
 1. The social and historical background. - The Civil War (1642-1660).
 - a. The Cavaliers - Anglicans - court nobility and clergy - absolute monarchy.
 - b. The Presbyterians - bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified landowners - limited monarchy.
 - c. The Independents and Puritans - petty bourgeoisie and small independent landowners - republic.
 - d. The Levellers - radical petty bourgeoisie (plebs) - equalitarian, democratic republic.
 2. The main political conceptions of John Milton.
 - a. The role of the Old Testament tradition on Milton's political thought.
 - b. The state as a compact. - The king delegated by the people to rule "according to the laws of nature and the provisions of his oath of office."

- c. The limitations on the royal power.
 - 1. The royal oath of office.
 - 2. Parliamentary bodies.
- d. The ultimate responsibility of the king as chief magistrate to the people.
- e. The people are not the masses but the middle classes (bourgeoisie).

"For you the people is only a blind, stupid mass, incapable either of obeying or of ruling, fickle and vain. This applies both to the nobility and the slums, to the mob on top and to the mob on bottom, but not to the great middle classes, embracing the most prudent and far-sighted men." - John Milton.

- c. John Lillburne and the Levellers.
 - 1. The state of nature and natural law.
 - 2. The state formed thru mutual compact for the common benefit - preserving natural liberty thru the sovereignty of the people.
 - 3. All existing laws and institutions null and void as opposed to natural law.
 - 4. Social and political institutions in harmony with natural law.
 - a. Communism - abolition of private property in land and money.
 - b. Extreme equalitarian democracy.
 - 1. Universal suffrage.
 - 2. Abolition of House of Lords.
 - 3. Annual parliaments.
 - 4. Religious toleration.

V. The political philosophy of the enlightenment (the eighteenth century). - The bourgeois Age of Reason.

A. Economic and political changes in eighteenth century Western Europe.

- 1. The advance of capitalism.
 - a. The triumph of commercial capitalism.
 - b. The beginnings of capitalism in agriculture.
 - c. The beginnings of capitalism in industry and the preparation of the industrial revolution.
- 2. Political relations in the eighteenth century.
 - a. In France.
 - 1. The Old Regime. - the reactionary absolute monarch supported by the courtier aristocracy. - The oncoming catastrophe in the collapse of the regime.
 - 2. The constantly growing economic power of the bourgeoisie and its political aspirations.
 - a. The bourgeoisie as leader and spokesman for the masses of the people.
 - 3. The people (Third Estate) against the aristocracy. - The maturing revolution.
 - b. In England.
 - 1. The Restoration (1660) and the Revolution of 1689 - the consolidation of the political power of the upper bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified landowners.
 - a. The English constitution - the composition and power of the House of Commons; the royal prerogative; the cabinet system.

2. The Tories ("landed interest") and the Whigs ("mercantile" or "monied interest").

B. The general outlook of the Enlightenment.

1. The exaltation of Reason. - Rationalism. - Reason as guide and emancipator.

"Nature bids man consult his reason and take it for his guide; religion teaches him that reason is corrupted... Nature tells man to seek light, to search for truth; religion enjoins upon him to examine nothing, to remain in ignorance. Nature says to man: 'Thou art free and no power on earth can lawfully strip thee of thy rights!' Religion cries to him that he is a slave, condemned by God to groan under the rod of God's representatives." - Holbach.

"Whatever the issue, the enlightened souls of that age (the eighteenth century) said: 'Reason will set us in the right!' Reason was to be the all-powerful substitute for religion, tradition, superstition, authority, custom, prejudice, oppression, in brief whatever man happened to view as a galling harness. Reason was to be a chain-breaker, jail-deliverer, world-reformer." - Josiah Royce.

2. The rejection of supernaturalism (mysticism), revelation, Christianity.

- a. Religion as responsible for social evils.

"Let us recognize the plain truth that it is these supernatural ideas that have obscured morality, corrupted politics, hindered the advance of the sciences and extinguished happiness and peace even in the very heart of man." - Holbach.

- b. Deism. - Atheism.

3. The exaltation of Nature. - The identity of Nature and Reason.
4. Materialism, mechanism and atomism. - The great advances in the physical sciences. - Physical science as philosophy.

5. Rationalistic hedonism as the psychology of the Enlightenment.
- a. The search for pleasure and the avoidance of pain as the motive forces in human conduct.

1. The role of reason as guide and controller of the passions.

- b. Individual interests the driving force in social behavior.

6. Utilitarianism as the ethical philosophy of the enlightenment.
- a. The rejection of supernatural or mystical sanctions for ethics.

- b. The criterion of virtuous conduct: the greatest good of the greatest number.

- c. The harmony of the rational interests of the individual (enlightened self-interest) and the welfare of the community.

- d. Vice due to

1. distortion of human nature thru bad institutions.
2. ignorance and unreason.

7. The economic philosophy of the Enlightenment.
- a. Three stages of economic thought.

1. Mercantilism as the economic theory of early commercial capitalism (England, Holland, Italy).

- a. The superiority of commerce over (medieval) agriculture.

1. The great emphasis on foreign trade.

- b. The great value placed on large stores of the precious metals as wealth.
- c. The state as an active economic agent.
- d. The colonial theory of mercantilism - colonies as markets for exported manufactures; the restriction of colonial manufactures.
2. The physiocratic philosophy as the economic theory of capitalistic (agricultural) production (France).
 - a. The central position of (capitalistic) agriculture. - Agriculture as the source of all wealth.
 - b. The existence of natural laws of economic life, which must be obeyed for social welfare.
 - c. Freedom of economic enterprise.
 - d. Governmental interference in economic life superfluous and harmful; - Laissez-faire.
3. Classical political economy (Adam Smith) as the economic theory of capitalist industrial production.
 - a. The central importance of industrial production.
 - b. The labor theory of value.
 - c. Economic classes and class struggles.
- b. The rejection of the restrictive feudal and guild regulations as "unnatural." - Revolutionary opposition of feudal property.
 - a. "If the nobility, from whom harmful privileges are to be withdrawn, appeal to the sacred right of property, they will receive the answer that property is only the right to possess it with justice, that what is inimical to national happiness cannot be just, that what hurts the property of the cultivator can never be a right but a usurpation." - Holbach.
 - c. The justification of (bourgeois) private property.
 - d. The exaltation of the merchant and industrial producer as benefactors of society. - Self-enrichment as public service. "They are benefactors who give life and employment to the whole of society, while enriching themselves." - Holbach.
 - e. Freedom of economic life and enterprise. - Laissez-faire. "Trade demands complete freedom; the freer trade is, the more will it expand. The government can do nothing for the merchant except let him alone to trade." - Holbach.
 - f. The harmony of individual economic interest and social welfare.
8. The social and political philosophy of the Enlightenment.
 - a. Some leading features of the philosophy of history.
 1. Reductive materialist theories.
 - a. Geographical materialism.
 - b. Crude physical materialism. "Too much acid in the gall of a fanatic, too hot blood in the heart of a conqueror, bad digestive trouble in a monarch, are causes sufficient to drive to war, to send millions of men to slaughter..." - Holbach.
 2. Idealistic theories - reflecting the inadequacy of reductive materialism.
 - a. Man as the product of social (governmental) institutions. "If we think a little about what is taking place before our eyes, we will be able to see the features of government in the character, the opinions, the laws, the customs and education of nations." - Holbach.
 - b. Yet, public opinion rules. - Social institutions created by public opinion.

"If we examine experience, we will find that we must regard sanctified illusions and opinions as the real source of the many evils which mankind is afflicted." - Holbach.

- c. The circular dilemma of the idealistic conception.
3. Past history as a record of crime and misery due to ignorance and bad (unnatural) social institutions.
4. The concept of progress. - The perfectibility of mankind.
 - a. Progress not as social evolution but as an unfolding of the possibilities of human nature.
- b. Nature and society.
 1. The state of nature and the nature of man.
 - a. Reason and nature. - Nature as "embodied reason."
 - b. The state of nature and the "noble savage."
 2. Good society as society according to nature (the nature of man).

"If we knew the elements which form the basis of the temperament of a human being or of the great majority of individuals out of which the people are composed, then we would know the laws necessary for them and the institutions useful to them." - Holbach.

 - a. Human nature essentially good.
 3. Social misery due to unnatural social (political) institutions.
 - a. Unnatural institutions due to greed for power and wealth on the part of kings and priests who are unable, thru ignorance, to see the path of virtue.
 4. The good society according to nature.
 - a. Virtue-inducing social institutions - bringing the interests of the individual into harmony with the interests of society.
 - b. The general character of a good society according to nature.
 1. The protection of the natural rights of man - life, liberty and property.
 2. The advancement of general welfare and happiness.

"Happiness is a new idea in Europe." - Saint Just.
 3. Good government.
- c. The rise and nature of the state (government).
 1. The state of nature and the social contract for the purpose of preserving and protecting the natural rights of man.
 2. The sovereign as creature and agent of society and bound by the terms of the social contract.
 3. The primary purposes of government.
 - a. The enforcement of virtuous (natural) institutions.
 - b. The establishment of peace, order and security.
 - c. Non-interference in individual social and economic activities.
 - d. The protection of the natural rights of man.
 4. The limits of the power of government. - The inviolability of the natural rights of man.

"Freedom, security and property are the only bonds tying a man to the land he inhabits. There is no fatherland without these... Society cannot take from man his property since the former was created to secure the latter." - Holbach.

5. The form of government usually a matter of indifference to the philosopher. His views of form of government generally influenced by the social conditions of his time.

- a. Benevolent despotism.
- b. Constitutional monarchy.
- c. Democracy.

C. Some significant political philosophies of the eighteenth century.

1. John Locke. - An essay on Civil Government (1689); Two Treatises on Government.

a. Locke's political purpose to provide a theoretical foundation for the post-1689 British constitution.

"...to establish the throne of our great Restorer, the present King William, and make good his title in the consent of the people upon which alone rests all legal government....to justify the English people whose love of their legal and natural rights, together with their determination to defend them, saved the nation when it was on the brink of slavery and ruin." - John Locke.

b. The basic problem of political philosophy: Why political power - the power of "making laws and imposing penalties of death, and consequently all lesser penalties."

c. The state of nature and the natural rights of man.

1. The state of nature as peaceful and benevolent.

2. The state of nature governed by natural law - reason.

"The state of nature is ruled by natural law binding on us all. This law is reason." - John Locke.

3. The natural rights of man in a state of nature - life, liberty, equality, property.

"Natural law teaches mankind...that all men are equal and independent and that none may do harm to the life and property, to the welfare and freedom of others."

- John Locke.

a. The right of private property derived from primitive communism and individual labor.

"Whatever, then, man takes from that which nature has created and provided, he has mixed with his own labor; he has added something of his own to it and he has thereby made it his property." - John Locke.

4. Civil government made necessary by the confusion and insecurity of the state of nature.

a. In the state of nature, every man must himself protect his rights and punish those who violate them.

d. Civil government formed thru social contract.

1. The social contract as a compact of each with all - the surrender by the individual of his natural freedom in exchange for security of his natural rights.

a. Locke's defense of the social contract theory against historical criticism.

11. Historical proof naturally unavailable since government precedes written history -- yet there is some confirmation from Roman and Venetian history.

2. Reason insists on the theory.
"The only way in which anyone can possibly deprive himself of his natural freedom and subject himself to political society, is by agreement." - John Locke.
2. Civil government created for certain defined ends, with limited powers.
 - a. Against the absolute monarchy. - Against the divine right of kings.
- e. The best form of government a constitutional representative government.
 1. The separation of powers, - legislative, executive, federative.
 2. The supremacy of the legislative power as vested with the people.
 3. The monarch as the executive agency.
- f. The natural functions and limitations of government.
 1. The natural functions of government - the protection of natural rights, especially property.
"Therefore is the chief object of men in their union in a state and their subordination to government, the security of property, which is lacking under natural conditions." - John Locke.
 2. The natural limits of government - the inviolability of natural rights.
"A government is not free to do as it pleases... The law of nature stands as an eternal rule to all men, legislators as well as others." - John Locke.
 3. Government just only with the consent of the governed.
"...the consent of the governed upon which alone rests all legal government." - John Locke.
- g. The right of revolution.
 1. Tyranny (arbitrary government overstepping its natural limitations) may and must be opposed by force.
"The true remedy of force without authority is to oppose force to it! Let authority but step outside the powers derived from the social contract and resistance becomes a natural right; the state of nature supervenes and a new contract may be made for which there is more hope of observance." - John Locke.
- h. Secularism and toleration.
 1. Civil government concerned only with social peace and not with the soul's salvation.
 2. Hence, the government must extend toleration to all religious views, except
 - a. Roman Catholicism - because of allegiance to a foreign power (Pope).
 - b. Mohammedanism - because of the repugnance of its morals.
 - c. Atheism - because it removes the ground of morality.
 3. The futility of religious persecution.
 - i. The historical significance of Locke's teachings for the American and French Revolutions.
 2. Baron de Holbach. - "The Social System" (1773).
 - a. Reason the supreme arbiter. - "Let reason decide."
 - b. Human nature neither good nor bad in itself. - Man is born with the driving impulse to seek pleasure and avoid pain.

- c. If social institutions allow him to follow his nature, man will act so as to advance his own interests and the welfare of society at the same time.
- d. Government is based on the social contract which remains valid as long as the government fulfills its duties.
- e. It is the duty of the government to mold social institutions in accord with human nature. - Law must be based on nature.
- f. The form of government is of little consequence. - But some form of popular government is desirable.
 - 1. The people: merchants, artisans, professional men.
- g. In fact, if men were properly educated and followed their reason, no government at all would be necessary.
- 3. The decline of the theory of social contract and of the doctrine of the state of nature.
 - a. The rediscovery of the essential sociability of the human race. - Isolated, unsocial man a mere fiction. "However one may imagine the beginnings of the human race, some sort of society must necessarily have existed, small perhaps but society nevertheless." - Bolingbroke.
 - b. The increasing knowledge of the social life of primitive peoples.
 - c. The appearance of historical conceptions of the origin of the state.
 - 1. The monarch as an outgrowth of the war chief.
 - 2. Civil government as an outgrowth of family and tribal communities. - Natural society and civil society.
- 4. Jean Jacques Rousseau. - "A Discourse on Inequality Among Men" (1753) and "The Social Contract" (1762).
 - a. Rousseau as a thinker: neither great nor original; vague, confused, mystical, self-contradictory; but very influential.
 - b. The leading ideas of Rousseau's political philosophy.
 - 1. The state of nature and the nature of man.
 - a. Man is free, isolated individual in the state of nature.
 - b. Man's nature is inherently good - but it is distorted by social institutions.
 - c. The state of nature admittedly a social fiction.
 - 2. But man cannot long exist in isolation - hence arises the family group, the only natural society.
 - a. Rousseau's family not the primitive family of reality but the bourgeois family (father, mother, minor children).
 - 3. The formation of the state thru the social contract.
 - a. The state is created thru the social contract which also creates a "people" out of isolated individuals.
 - b. The social contract is entered into by the free individuals in a state of nature, by the heads of families.
 - c. The social contract need not be a formal contract but may be a tacit compact necessarily implied in the very act of political organization.
 - d. Only thru social contract do political institutions acquire their rightful character.

4. The nature of the state.

"How can we find a social form which will defend and protect, with all its collective power, the person and property of every member so that every individual, united with every other, really obeys himself and remains as free as before." - Rousseau.

- a. The state has only those rights which are transferred to it from the individuals thru the general will.
1. In the state there really is no alienation of rights.

"In giving himself to all, he gives himself to none. Since you get the same rights over every other member of society that you yield over yourself, you receive something in exchange for what you lose and get more power to protect what you have." - Rousseau.

2. The self-alienation of natural rights is impossible because it is irrational.

5. The nature of the general will.

- a. The general will as sovereign.
- b. What the general will is not - neither unanimity nor majority vote.
- c. The general will is the true will - the common will for the welfare of all.
1. The general will is infallibly good.
- d. The general will may differ from the actual will of the people since the people may be mistaken or their ideas may be distorted by particular interests.
- "From all this it follows that the general will is always right and always strives for the general welfare... But this does not mean that decisions of the people are always right. We always want the best but we do not always understand wherein it consists. The people cannot be corrupted but they may be misled and made to seem to desire evil. There is often the greatest difference between the will of all and the general will. The latter aims exclusively at the general welfare; the former at private interests and is merely the sum of individual wills. If we draw the balance of these individual wills, which cancel each other, we get the general will as residue." - Rousseau.

- e. How can the general will be determined and come to expression.

1. Parties or political groupings destroy the general will. - Citizens must be politically dispersed.

"If, in making their decision, the citizens have no strong connections with each other, the general will will always emerge out of a great number of small differences and the decision will always be good. But, if parties and associations are formed....it can no longer be said that there are as many voters as there are people but only as many as there are associations...In order for the general will to be clearly expressed, it is therefore necessary that in the state there should be no special societies and that every citizen should take his stand upon his own convictions." - Rousseau.

2. The general will cannot be expressed thru representative institutions.
3. The general will can only be expressed thru direct, popular assemblies.
 - a. Representative assemblies should only consider and prepare laws but final action can be taken only by the popular assemblies.
 - b. The citizens should concern themselves with great problems of state and leave secondary matters to their executive agents.
 - c. In popular assemblies, the general will is to be determined by majority vote -- in important matters, by big majority vote.
4. But how does a majority vote register the general will?
 - c. Rousseau's profound influence in the revolutionary era.
5. The rise of social realism in political theory.
 - a. The growing maturity of capitalist conditions in England.
 - The clear emergence of the class structure of capitalist society.
 - b. The rapid development of classical political economy.
6. Henri Linguet. - "The Theory of Civil Law or the Fundamental Principles of Society" (1767).
 - a. The two types or stages of society.
 1. Primitive society - living under simple or natural conditions.
 - "Man grows up without restraint, lives without remorse, dies without fear." - Linguet.
 2. True, or political, society (the state).
 - b. The variety or natural conditions as well as the growing division of labor bring about "inequalities in the mode of life" - warlike hunter tribes subjugate peaceful agricultural tribes - slavery.
 - c. On the basis of these "inequalities in the mode of life", civil government arises.
 - "True society arises at the expense of the shepherds and the tillers of the soil and is established for their subjection." - Linguet.
 - d. As the state has arisen thru the subjection of one section of society to another, so it remains today based on class and property differences.
 - "From the very beginning the two pillars of civil society have been the slavery of the greater part of the men and that of all the women. On this painful basis social institutions have arisen. At the expense of three-quarters of its members, society assures a small number of possessing elements, about whom alone it is concerned their riches and happiness." - Linguet.
 1. The forms of subjection have changed thru the centuries - slavery, serfdom, domestic labor.
- e. Hence law is concerned primarily with property.
 - "The purpose of law, therefore, is to maintain peace in society and to avoid, or at least to weaken, conflicts aroused by passion. The surest way of achieving this is by rendering property secure and this the law has done. .. Law is certainly younger than its source. But where can the source lie if not in the society out of which law emerges? The spirit of the laws is the sanctity of property. Consequently property must precede law." - Linguet.

f. Society must necessarily rest on property (slavery). -
To abolish property means to destroy society.

7. Adam Ferguson. - "Essay on the History of Civil Society" (1767)
and "Principles of Moral and Political Science" (1792).

a. The history of mankind an expression of human nature.
"The history of mankind is a history of the human race
or species." - Ferguson.

b. Human nature includes two kinds of impulses or motives --
both types equally natural.

1. Individual or self-regarding impulses based on self-
interest.

2. Social impulses, based on sympathy or sociability.

c. The distinction between animal life and human society. -
The capacity of social development makes progress possible.

"Man begins the course of his life with the advantages
peculiar to his century, altho his natural talents are
obviously no different...Men build on the foundations
laid by their forefathers and, in the course of years,
achieve a perfection in the use of their powers for which
long experience and the efforts of many generations
prepare them. Thus do men make progress." - Ferguson.

d. The rejection of the doctrine of the state of nature and
the theory of social contract.

1. The human race essentially social. - The isolated human
being a mere fiction.

"Men have always existed in groups or societies." -
Ferguson.

e. Societies have always existed but not political societies. -
Civil government (the state).

f. How does civil government (political society) arise?

1. The state arises out of economic conditions - as a
necessity for the regulation of private property.

2. The development of the economic basis of the state.

a. In prepolitical societies (hunters), private property
was insignificant (weapons, skins, etc. - game was
shared).

b. The transition to agriculture - at first communal
ownership of the soil and its products.

c. But very soon arise division of labor and property
differences and hence "unequal conditions of life."

d. Then arises the state as an agency for the protection
of private property.

"Hence hunting peoples have no regular government;
they still live according to the laws of nature.
Only the acquisition of herds of cattle and the
differences of property appearing therewith can
occasion the rise of regular government. Until
property comes into being, there can be no govern-
ment, for the essential purpose of the latter is to
render wealth secure and to protect the rich from
the poor. If one man possess five hundred cattle
and another none at all, the former will certainly
have great difficulty in retaining possession
unless there is some sort of government to defend
his rights of property." - Adam Smith.

3. The rise of states stimulated and strengthened by conquest and the subjection of other tribes - for subjugation and economic exploitation require institutions of supervision and domination.
 - g. With the rise of the state, society is already divided into classes (estates).

"The changes in conditions and manners which give rise to princes also bring forth, at the same time, a nobility and a multiplicity of estates, all raising their claims to privilege...Superstition, too, breeds a certain class of men who, under the name of priesthood, pursue their special interests and are to be included among those who exercise power...The common people also form a party for themselves...The various classes of people are the components by the mixture of which the body politic is formed." - Ferguson.
 - h. The form of the state depends on the form and manner "in which the members of the state are originally ordered in classes" (Ferguson).
 - i. Law is the right of the more powerful classes and primarily concerns property.

"It (law) determines the various ways in which property may be acquired and establishes the public institutions for its security." - Ferguson.
 - j. Social conflicts the result of the clash of social groups, each animated by self-seeking impulses. - Public welfare, based on the social impulses, must predominate.
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